

Irish Face Future With Fresh Hope

De Valera's Break With Free State Government Proves Near-Calamity—War Spirit Subdued.

Sensitive Over Action

By MARK SULLIVAN.

London, June 2.—Your correspondent the other day for an afternoon and evening sat through a session of the Irish dail (pronounced like "dahl-eel," almost like Doyle). They seem to have adopted the manner of the English house of commons, meeting at 3 in the afternoon and sitting often until late in the night.

It was, I suppose, a characteristic session. The debates covered a bill for the censorship of motion picture films, a financial budget bill and one of Mr. de Valera's overtures toward peace.

The members of the cabinet sat on the front bench of the government side, as in practically all European legislatures, though not in our American congress. Instinctively one compared them with our own present cabinet as house of commons, meeting at 3 in the afternoon and sitting often until late in the night.

The dail cabinet is young—I should imagine the average age is not much above 35. If they have native ability, the capacity to meet and overcome crises, it has yet to be written on their countenances. There was one with a sun of experience comparing with that of Hughes, or Mellon, or Hoover, or Weeks.

Loss Is Tragical

One had a moment, too, of comparing this cabinet of a new nation with the leaders who started our own America off after its secession from Great Britain. But one abandoned that comparison instantly, with a little pang of pity for Ireland. Tragedy came to the new nation in the person of its leader, George Washington, who died at the age of 67. It is as if within a year after we won our independence George Washington had been murdered. Alexander Hamilton had died and Thomas Jefferson had gone off on an insurrection.

But while the dail cabinet is much younger and otherwise not to be compared with ours at home, the membership of the dail, as a whole, need not fear comparison with our lower house of congress, or even with our senate. In the debates there was humor, common sense and decidedly more signs of classic learning than in our congress. (The dail includes a marked sprinkling of teachers and professors from institutions of learning.) One member of the dail is in features and manner a counterpart of the late Champ Clark.

There was 100 per cent absence of anything even faintly of the nature of either rant or cant. There wasn't a speech of the sort which in Washington we characterize as "made for home consumption." Even in those parts of the debates which covered De Valera's proposals for amnesty, and therefore went to the heart of the existence of the dail, and even of the free state, there was good temper and reasonableness.

Official Language Gaelic. One of the most vivid impressions borne in upon the writer was the quality of the labor members of the dail. They had a dignity and power of thought, a freedom from demagoguery, and, above all, a patience, a restraint of words and manner which was rather higher than the average in any legislative body the present writer has ever seen in any capital. In the dail the labor party is the opposition party, but the leader was as far as possible from the customary habit of opposition leaders of seeking openings to embarrass the government.

In the dail the official language is Gaelic. But you may sit through a full day's session without hearing more than a dozen words of that ancient tongue. A few of the formalities are in Gaelic. When the roll is called the names of the members are given in the Irish form, and when the members reply they do so in the Gaelic words for "yes" and "no." But when a member makes a speech he makes it in English.

A good many members of the dail could make their speeches in Gaelic if they chose, but as to most of them it would be like our American Senator Medill McCormick making a speech in French, as he occasionally has done when distinguished Frenchmen have been on the floor of congress. With the great bulk of the Irish, Gaelic, so far as they know it at all, is an acquired tongue. It is taught not universally in the schools, but the pupils, for the most part, learn it as they might learn Latin.

Language Is Revived. In the west and south of Ireland there are several areas where Irish is, in the true sense, the language of common use. But while I have seen no estimate from any authoritative source, I should be surprised if the number of persons who use Gaelic naturally and habitually is more than 5 per cent of the population. There is a group of the ardent national leaders who are passionately determined to revive the ancient tongue and make it universal, as the Bohemian patriots did, and the Greeks. It will take a long time and be an uphill job.

However extensively Gaelic may be revived, Ireland will always be more or less compelled to speak English. Also, the closeness of its trade relations with England and America will make that necessary. But those Irish leaders who know that language is the soul of a nation are determined to bring Gaelic back. Already in the 30

Omahans to Attend Denver Convention



Denver's Jewish Hospital for Consumptives

A number of Omaha Jews will attend the 25th anniversary of the National Jewish hospital for consumptives at Denver in the summer of 1924.

In order to discuss an adequate celebration a convention of subscribers is being arranged for June 22, 1923. The national hospital for consumptives has 500,000 Jews contributing to its support. During its existence it has aided 4,000 patients.

London has 10,752 persons to every square mile of territory.

Irish Now Penitent. For all of this the Irish now are conscious of penitence. They have a shy embarrassment, a lowering of the eyelids as they ask you: "What does America think of us now?" They realize that the year after Ireland got its freedom, which might have been a year of joy and sentiment, of homecoming visits from Irish in America and people of Irish descent—that year became one of somberness and violence. During that whole year less than 100 first-class passengers landed at Queenstown from New York.

The Irish, whether with peace, that aborted emotion among their kin in foreign lands can be stirred to a new birth. Probably it can. From the point of view of Ireland there is not only sentiment in it, there is also solid business. Probably \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 a year is not too high an estimate of the amount that American tourists would spend in a securely stabilized Ireland. Ireland might, like Switzerland, make the welcome and care of visitors one of its two or three most productive industries. Everywhere in Ireland there is hardly any limit to the amount of money that Americans of Irish descent might invest in Ireland.

The writer here records one of the most hopeful aspects of the new Irish nation. For that matter, it is one of the most hopeful facts in the recent history of the world. There is no religious persecution nor any religious acrimony in the Irish free state. There are controversies in plenty—savage controversies over which more than 1,000 lives have been taken since the free state came into existence. But none of them is about religion.

No Religious Bigotry. You may spend a week in Ireland and talk with high and low about the issues of politics without ever hearing religion mentioned. When you ask whether there is any religious intolerance the other party to the conversation, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, has an air of trying to bring back to his mind something that had not entered it for a long time.

For generations, even for centuries, the principal argument against giving Ireland independence was that it would be followed by religious persecution, even by a sectarian war of extermination. When the free state came nothing of the kind happened. Outside the free state, in Belfast, there was a momentary outbreak of sectarian passion, which included the driving of Catholic workers out of the ship yards. But Protestant judges and Protestant courts dealt so severely with Protestant ruffians that

the Catholic workers were reassured. In the same way the Protestants in the north were reassured by the complete absence of religious intolerance in the Catholic south.

In the whole island of Ireland today there is less religious intolerance than in those parts of the United States where the Ku Klux Klan is strong. In Protestant Belfast the other day the government apologized for feeling compelled to withdraw state aid from 700 Catholic parochial schools, thus making it necessary for the Catholics to support their own schools from their own purses.

The new free state government has stern problems ahead of it. One of the most trying will be what to do with its army of 50,000 men. That is about half the size of our own American army. In proportion to population, if the United States had as large an army as Ireland we should have 1,250,000 men withdrawn from industry and under arms. Ireland has one soldier to every 80 of its population. America has one to every 1,000. In proportion to population, Ireland has the largest army in the world except that of France. Also, it is the best fed, best paid and best provided for army in the world, except America's. Ireland realizes that this army must be disbanded. But when and how? What is to be done with the young men when they are turned out of their uniforms? This army is, to a large extent, a portion of a surplus population that have developed in Ireland since 1914. When the beginning of the war set up barriers to emigration 20,000 or 30,000 young men who used to emigrate were damned back, and their presence in Ireland, without available jobs in existing industries, constitutes one of the new government's most formidable tasks.

These young men were youths of 16 or 18 when the war came. They had no training for any industry. Now they are in their 20s without knowing any occupation save arms and keyed up only to the exciting life of fighting. It is not only a question of finding jobs for them, but also a question whether they will take kindly to the ways of peace.

There are other problems ahead of the new commonwealth. But after you have surveyed them all you come to the end with confidence. With reasonable wisdom and common sense on the part of the new leaders, there is no reason why the Irish free state should not become as secure as Denmark or Sweden, or Norway, or even Holland.

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Soviet Is Here

to Stay, Asserts Lloyd George

Former Prime Minister Declares Nation Suffers Effect of All Blows Aimed at Government.

(Continued From Page One.)

for the time being of a country without devastating land and alienating its people. You cannot refuse to trade with it now without depriving its people of commodities—and especially of equipment—essential to their well being. It is the people, therefore, who would suffer and the people who would ultimately resent that suffering. Governments come and go, but a nation goes on forever.

The Russian people deserve—especially at the hands of all the allied nations—every sympathetic consideration we can extend them. Not only for the reason that they have to endure the sway of a tyrannical oligarchy imposing its will by ruthless violence, but even more for the reasons that led to the establishment of that tyranny. If the fruit is bitter, we must bear in mind how the tree came to be planted in the soil. It may sound like quoting ancient history to revert to the events of eight or nine years ago, but no one can understand Russia or do justice to its unhappy people without recalling the catastrophe that led to the great catastrophe.

Those who denounce any dealings with the existing order seem to have persuaded themselves that prerevolutionary Russia was governed by a gentle and beneficent despotism. "Conferre the blessings of tolerant and kindly fatherhood upon

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a well ruled household. In no particular is this a true picture of the former regime.

Old Regime Severe.

The fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul was not erected nor its dungeons dug by the bolsheviks. Siberia was not set up as a penal settlement for political offenders for the first time—it at all—by the bolsheviks. In 1906 about 45,000 political exiles were deported to endure the severities of Siberia. Persecution of suspected religious leaders was not started by the bolsheviks. To them does not belong the discredit of initiating methods of pogromism. But let us not forget that beyond all these circumstances the revolution was rendered inevitable by the ineptitude and corruption of the old system and especially by the terrible suffering and humiliation which that state of things inflicted on Russia in the great war.

Anyone who has read "Memoirs of an Ambassador," by M. Paleologue, will find a complete explanation in its pages of the savagery and blood with which the Russian revolutionaries viewed all those who were associated in any degree with the old order. He tells the story of how a gallant army found itself at the critical hour without ammunition, rifles, transport, and even without food. No braver or more devoted men ever fought for their country than the young peasants who made up the Russian armies of 1914, 1915 and 1916.

With little and often no artillery support they faced without faltering the best equipped heavy artillery in the world. They were mowed down by shell fire and machine guns by the million. Their aggregate casualties up to September, 1916, even according to czarist generals of the day, were 5,000,000. In reality they were much heavier. Often they went into action with no rifles with which to arm them. They picked up as they advanced rifles dropped by fallen comrades.

Wholesale Corruption.

There is nothing in war comparable to the trustful heroism of these poor peasants. We know now why there were no rifles or shells or wagons. The wholesale corruption of the regime has been exposed to the world by irrefutable documentary evidence.

Here are a few extracts from M. Paleologue's interesting book. One extract from his diary reads:

"Lack of ammunition means that the role of the artillery in battle is necessarily insignificant. The whole burden of the fighting falls on the infantry and the result is a ghastly expenditure of human life. A day or two ago one of Grand Duke Sergius' collaborators, Colonel Englehardt, said to Major Wehrlin, my second military attaché: 'We're paying for the crimes of our administration with the blood of our men.'"

About the same date, talking about the deplorable state of things, Grand Duke Sergius, who was inspector general of artillery, said to the French ambassador: "When I think that this exhibition of impotence is all our aristocratic system has to show it makes me want to be a republican."

When a grand duke talked like that early in 1915, what must the peasant soldier have thought by the spring of 1917 after millions of his comrades had been slaughtered as a result of the same "exhibition of impotence"?

It is no use pointing to the fact that our own army was also short of ammunition at that date. The British army was a small army organized on a basis of a maximum expeditionary force of six divisions. The Russian

army was a great conscript force organized on a basis of 100 divisions in the field.

Distressing Reading.

I recollect well our own military reports from the Russian fronts. They provided much distressing reading. They filled you with compassion for the millions of gallant men who were victims of corruption and stupidity in high places. I recall one statement made to our general which betrays the callous indifference with which men in authority seemed to treat the appalling sacrifice of life amongst the loyal soldiers who were facing death without a murmur because the "Little Father" willed it.

Whenever anxious inquiries were directed by our officer as to the grievous losses in men which filled him with dismay as well as horror, the usual reply was: "Don't worry yourself. Thank God of men at all events, we have enough." An answer which sends a thrill of horror through you when you read it.

That is why at the end of two and a half years the patient men in the field at last mutinied. That is why their parents and brothers in the field supported them. The "Little Father" had failed them, and his minions had betrayed them, and his statement made to our general which betrays the callous indifference with which men in authority seemed to treat the appalling sacrifice of life amongst the loyal soldiers who were facing death without a murmur because the "Little Father" willed it.

It is a sad and horrible tale of peccolence, maladministration and cruel treachery. Millions of British and French money went in shameless and open bribery whilst soldiers in the field, for need of what money could buy, were opposing bare breasts and uncovering brave hearts to the most terrible artillery in the world.

No Real Interest.

If the rest of the world had been well spent, the money left after providing for profuse graft would still have sufficed to save that gallant army from destruction. But unhappily no real interest was taken in anything beyond the amount and payment of pocket money. That seemed to be the main purpose of the transaction. Nothing was well managed except the inevitable bribe. There were honorable and upright men who did their duty by their distracted and plundered country, but they were helpless in a torrent of corruption.

No wonder a great Russian industrialist, engaged in the ministry of war, in dwelling on the sad failure of czarism and its probable results, in June, 1915, predicted a revolution with "10 years of the most frightful anarchy." "We shall," he added, "see days of Pugachev again, and perhaps even more savage than that of Pugachev, verified with appalling accuracy."

It is not pleasant to recall these dreadful episodes which reveal a betrayal of a devotion faithful unto death. But this story is essential to a right appreciation of events. There is no danger like that of a trustful people which finds its trust being imposed upon the whole time. Here the retribution has been hideous in all its aspects. But the provocation was also revolting from every point of view. To judge Russia fairly that must be taken into account.

I think the British government is therefore taking the right view of its responsibilities when, through the foreign secretary, it opens negotiations with a representative of the soviet government in this country. You can easily evoke resounding cheers among the thoughtless by declaring melodramatically that you will never "shake hands with murder." In practice this policy has always been a failure.

Holds With Pitt

Mr. Pitt, in a famous passage, declined to assent to that doctrine when he was attacked for trying to open

negotiations with the "assassins" of the French revolution. He was driven out of this calm and rational attitude by the inflammable rhetoric of Burke, aided by the arrogance of the victorious revolutionaries. Nevertheless the sequel proved he was right. French bolshevism was not defeated by foreign armies, nor starved out by a British blockade. But it was driven into the arms of Napoleon, and Europe suffered bitterly for the folly of hot-heads on both sides. It would have been better for that generation had it listened to the wise counsel of William Pitt.

If you decline to treat with Russia as long as its present rulers remain in power, then you ought to place Turkey in the same category. The military junta that governed Turkey has been guilty of atrocities at least as vile as any committed by the bolsheviks. But at Lausanne we automatically stretched the friendly hand of Britain to the authors of the Armenian massacres. And France and Italy—yes, and America—also tendered the same warm handshake. I am not criticizing the offer of amity made as a condition of peace. We must make peace in the world, and you cannot do so if you put whole nations off your string list because of the misconduct of those who govern them. Once you begin you are not quite sure where it will end.

Innocent Suffer Most.

In these cases the innocent suffer most. A refusal to trade with Russia would not deprive the soviet commissaries of a single necessity or comfort of life. The commissaries are quite strong enough to take care of themselves. But the peasants—who are not commissaries—would continue to suffer, and their sufferings would increase as their reserves of clothing and other essentials became completely exhausted. And the people of Russia who need the produce of Russia for their own use would also suffer to a certain extent.

America can afford this exalted aloofness. She does not need Russian grain and timber. She is exporter of those commodities. But we cannot do so without them, and we also need Russian flax for our linen industries, which are languishing for want of it. Last year there were quite considerable imports of Russian produce into this country. This year, owing to the prospects of an improved harvest, these imports will be much larger. They are greatly needed here for our own consumption, and they pay for exports of machinery and textiles which the Russian on his part badly requires.

But beyond and above all these material considerations the world needs peace. In the old days conveying attorneys in this country kept a property transaction going on by interminable requisitions on the title of the other party. They exercised all their ingenuity and invoked the added ingenuity of trained counsel to probe for defects in the right of the vendor to deal. Those were leisurely days, and men could afford to dawdle. Even then these exercises ended in ruinous litigation. Today, time presses and the atmosphere is dangerous for the plying of irritating interrogatories.

It is time we made up our minds that the soviets have come to stay, whether we like it or no, and that one or other of the formidable men who rule Russia are likely to rule it for some time to come. The sooner we have the courage to recognize this fact, the sooner will real peace be established.

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